1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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being eaten by the community. A man becomes a *yaka* directly he is dead, nothing is buried with him and the contents of his betel pouch are used in the ordinary way. The *Nat Yaku* ceremony is held some days after death, one, or according to another informant two, *aude* being used.

At Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle neither Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka was known, and these two *yaku* were also unknown at Dambani where, however, the Belligala Arachi said that Kande Yaka gives luck in hunting. This has been confirmed by Mr Hartshorne's notes, so that although our informants at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle stated that they did not know this *yaka*, too much stress must not be laid upon this.

The other two classes of *yaku* invoked at Dambani are tree and rock *yaku*. Both send sickness and are invoked with dancing and offerings to remove it, the stone magic described on p. 143 being used to determine which *yaka* is responsible for the disease. The most important rock *yaku* are Mawaragala Yaka, Rerangala Yaka, Barutugala Yaka, and Mehaluku Yakini. The latter is associated with a rock Batugala near Alutnuwara, the others with the peaks whose names they bear.

Two tree *yaku* were mentioned, each having a number of attendants. These tree *yaku* are named Na Gaha Yaka (Na tree Yaka) and Bo Gaha Yaka (Bo tree Yaka), that is to say they are called after the trees with which they are associated, and the Arachi pointed out that tree *yaku* habitually lived in trees of the species after which they are named. We could not discover any facts suggesting that these tree *yaku* were considered to represent the life of the tree.

[624]

HORABORAWEWA.

The surroundings and physical characters of the Veddas of Horaborawewa have been described on p. 53. The shaman is the local Sinhalese headman, who stated that the same *yaku* are invoked by Veddas and Sinhalese alike. Seren (Riri) Yaka is the most important *yaka*, Wiloya Yaka and Kalu Yaka are also known, and it was stated that the latter spirit was also called Wangata Yaka. Our informant had not heard of Kande Yaka or Bilindi Yaka, and it was certain that the worshipped *yaku*

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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element as they are in the midst of a civilized crowd. They are different beings at ease in their own forests. I have travelled by night with Veddahs for my guides over the plains and through the forests of Bintenne, and have been struck with their altered demeanour. In their own hunting grounds, they are no longer the scared and cowering creatures I have described. They are "at home;" and seem to assert their freedom. Bows in hand, their axes hanging from their shoulders, they stride noiselessly along, with head erect, and independent air as though they were every one's equal, and had none to fear.

As their chief pursuit is hunting, whether for game or honey, their constant weapons, without which they never stir, are a bow, two or three arrows, and a very small axe (for cutting honey-combs out of trunks of trees), shaped with a hollow in the lower part of the blade to enable it to hang conveniently upon the shoulder. They also carry a larger axe, stuck into the waist-string at their back.

The bow is long, from five feet eight to about six feet six inches in length, rudely made of tough elastic wood*—a bow, which a muscular Englishman would bend with an effort, long practice has taught the slightly-built Veddah to string with ease; and I have seen a boy use a bow which caused me some exertion to bend. The strings, which are exceedingly strong, are twisted of different kinds of bark and fibres.† The arrows, which are about a yard long, are headed with a sharp iron blade, often nearly six inches long and an inch wide, about the formation of which they are still as "curious" as when Knox wrote of them, and if a blade be given them, they will now, as they did then, grind or beat it out to the shape and thinness they most approve.‡

The method in which "they bespeak their arrows to be made, and their mode of barter generally, which Tennent believes *still* to exist among them, have long been exploded.§ They are not

* They chiefly use the wood of the following trees, doonoomadala (*stereospermum chelonoides*), the kekala (*cynthomalyx zylanicus*), a creeper called kobbéwel, or the panddro tree.

† Chiefly the fibre of the niyanda (*sansiviera zylanica*), and the bark of a creeper called the areloowel.

‡ "They are so curious of their arrows that no smith can please them. The king once to gratify them for a great present they brought him, gave all of them his best made arrow-blades, which nevertheless would not please their humour. For they went all of them to a rock by a river, and ground them into another form." Knox, part iii, chap. i, p. 63 (folio).

§ "It hath been reported to me by many people, that a wilder sort of them, when they want arrows, will carry their loads of flesh in the night, and hang it up in a smith's shop, also a leaf cut in the form they will have their arrows made and hang by it; which if the smith do make according to their pattern, they will requite, and bring him more flesh; but if he make

2: Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

262 bears, leopards, and jackals; and all birds, except the wild or domestic fowl. They will not touch lizards, bats, or snakes.*

They can assign no reason for their abstinence from the flesh of those beasts and birds which I have enumerated, but their objection to beef and fowls, though quite unexplained is decidedly the most marked, so much so that during my inquiries, I found that they spontaneously expressed their antipathy, though it required cross-examination to elicit the fact that they also avoid the other kinds of flesh.

They do not scruple to eat animals which have died a natural death, and have (in common with the Kandyans) a decided preference for their game "high"—if so mild a term can describe the exceedingly advanced condition, in which venison should be to suit the palate of a Veddah (or Kandyan) epicure.

226 They are fond of fish, which they catch by mixing with the water the juice of particular fruits and barks of trees, which stupify them. A similar practice is common among the Singhalese.

224 Their arrows procure for them the flesh of the animals they eat,
23 and I can find no trace of pit-falls or traps being in use among them. In Bintenne, some of them employ the hunting buffalo to enable them to approach their game unseen.† Their dogs track out the wounded animals, and are also trained to catch the iguano.

223 Tennent is wrong in saying that they procure birds with the bow. They are not good enough shots for that. They catch them with bird-lime, made from the juice of the bo-tree (*ficus religiosa*)—and also watch them to their nests, and take them at night. Their skill as marksmen is most indifferent, and they never exercise it at small objects.

[824]

224 The most choice food, in their estimation, is, of land animals, the flesh of the pengolin, or of the iguano; and, of fish, the eel.
[262] Though they eat no part of the elephant, yet he is the object of their pursuit, both for their own protection and on account of
[439] the ivory, so valuable to them as an article of barter. They will steal up to an elephant, and, as he is in the act of stepping for-

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* It is curious that, while in the Batticaloa district Veddahs are said to eat bats, those of the Badulla district—certainly of Nilgala—reject them.

† The use of the hunting buffalo is common all over the island. The manner in which the animal is trained is curious. When its horns are young and tender, a string is tied tightly round the base of one of them. The pain thus produced is so acute, that the poor animal is easily guided by the cord, and answers to the slightest touch. The ligature is gradually relaxed; and, when the buffalo is full grown, the recollection of the pain it occasioned is so vivid that he will answer readily to a thin string tied loosely to his horn. With an animal so trained, the hunter can easily approach the deer unseen at night. The buffalo feeds; the hunter crouches under his lee; a touch will guide him, and the hunter advances under cover.

2; Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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to catch the hum of bees, which so instantaneously struck his ear. Their forest life naturally quickens their powers both of seeing and hearing, and renders them, in these respects, far superior to those whose more civilized lives do not compel them to rely on those faculties for their daily food.

They take honey in the manner common to the Singhalese. The bee-hunter enlarges with his small axe the hole in the tree at which the bee enters, and putting his mouth to the aperture, blows into it. This has generally the effect of making the bees fly out; or, at least, of making them vacate the comb, and retire into the innermost recesses of the hollow tree, when the honey can be taken with the hand. If this do not succeed, however, a second puff, after the bee-hunter has chewed some aromatic substance, has the desired effect.

Taking the honey of the bambera (*apis Indica*), a large and very venomous bee, is a much more serious affair. This bee hives on very lofty trees, or in clefts of precipitous rocks. If on a tree, the hunter ties tendrils to it, and armed with a bundle of blazing faggots, climbs to the vicinity of the comb and smokes the bees out, being often severely stung during the operation. If in a cleft of rock, he will, if he cannot otherwise approach it, lower himself with ropes made of creepers, and take the honey by the same process.

To the Veddahs, honey is not only favourite food, but valuable as an object of barter, for the Kandyans prize it greatly for medicinal purposes. They use it, too, as Knox tells us, for preserving flesh. "They cut a hollow tree and put honey in it, and then fill it with flesh, and stop it with clay, which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want."* And when they are short of food, they mix honey with decayed wood, and so eat it. It satisfies their craving more readily than plain honey. Davy properly describes the practice, as "not so much for nourishment as to distend the empty stomach and to allay the distressing feelings of emptiness and the pains of hunger." It is curious that Tennent should have entirely omitted all allusion to this remarkable custom. "Romba" is the term used by the Veddahs, for this decayed wood, and the practice I have described may have given rise to the epithet, which Knox applies to the "wild sort" called "Ramba Veddahs," who, he says, "never shew themselves"—but no "sort" is so called now, nor is the name remembered.†

* Knox, part iii, chap. i, p. 63.

† Knox, part iii, chap. i, p. 63. The wood so used is chiefly that of the [824] erimin creeper (*zizyphus œnoplia*, Mill.), the ettamba—wild mango (*mangifera Indica*, Quin.), the weera (*hemicyclia sepiaria*, W. and A.), the réna, the noora, a species of fig; any wood, indeed, not poisonous, is used. They reject the wood of the kaduru (*cerbera odallum*, Gaertn.), the goda

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
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They are very rude in their cookery, often burning the flesh in the fire, which they produce by rubbing together two pieces of the wood of the vellan tree (*Pterospermum suberifolium*, Sam.). A hole is scooped in one piece with an arrow-blade, and the other, which is pointed, is inserted into it, and twirled rapidly round between the hands till it ignites. [252] 372

They are fond of betel, when they can get it; but in lieu of the compound which goes by this name, they have the following substitutes. Instead of the betel leaf, they eat the astringent bark of the demette tree (*Gmelina Asiatica*, *L.*), or the leaves of an aromatic plant called the madurutala (*Ocimum sanctum*—or *O. canum*, *L.*) For areka nut, they chew the bark of the moratree (*Nephelium longanum*, Camb.), the oupaloo or wellan connitta tree; and calcined snail shells, or the bark of the areloo tree (*Terminalia chebula*, Retz.), supplies the place of lime or chunam, which forms so important an ingredient in a prepared quid of betel. They do not smoke, and are very temperate, drinking water only. 276 824 [237] [271]

I need not say that they are very simple and primitive in their habits. The "wilder sort" have had too little communication with the Singhalese to have acquired the vices of civilization. The few necessaries of life which the forest does not supply, such as steel and iron for their arrow-heads and axes, and the very scanty clothing which they wear, they obtain by barter, their wax and honey, elk flesh, and ivory, being eagerly sought after by the neighbouring Singhalese, or "the ubiquitous Moors." 177 [439]

They are very harmless, too; though, according to Knox, were much dreaded once. Even yet there are traditions that they kidnapped children, ran off with young girls, way-laid travellers, and attacked the tavalams or bullock-caravans. But now, at any rate, they are as peaceful as it is possible to be. They are proverbially truthful and honest. They are fond of their children, who early become useful to them; the boys soon are familiar with the use of the bow, while the girls, armed with a pointed stick, add to the family larder at a very tender age, by killing the iguano, and digging for wild yams. 648 181 [868]

Their constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character in a country where conjugal fidelity is certainly not classed as the highest of domestic virtues. Infidelity, whether in the husband or the wife, appears to be unknown, and I was 837

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kadura (*strychnos, nux vomica*), the diwi kaduru (*taberna montana dichotoma*, Roxb.), the kolong (*naucles cordifolia*, Roxb.), the milla (*vitex altissima*, Linn.), the mora (*nephelium longanum*, Camb.), the kaluwera (ebony, *ebenum*, Retz), which they say would stupify them; but though the three first mentioned trees would be injurious, it is probably that the rest would be harmless. [824] [261]

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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recognise a single expression. The following morning I taxed the people with speaking in Vedda language, but they stoutly declared that they could only speak Sinhalese.

In my opinion the majority of the people of the Maha Wedirata are of Vedda origin, but have discarded their primitive customs as they dwindled in numbers, and while other causes, such as marriage with neighbouring people, tended to still further break down the older customs of the isolated clans that made up the Vedda race as a whole, they still clung in secret to the language of their forefathers, as a binding link and a means of private communication.

At Salavai, in the Panawa Pattu, I found one family who admitted that their grandfather was a real Vedda, belonging to one of the clans occupying the country on the confines of the Kumbukkan river.

From the oldest member of this family I obtained a mass of information respecting the habits and customs of the Vedda people.

According to this individual, who has adopted the Sinhalese name of Dissan Hamy, the Veddas were divided up into a number of waruge or clans, each of which occupied and hunted over a specific area of country, and had no connection with the others who lived as separate communities.

The members of each clan were more or less related, and previous to the disintegration of the Veddas as a race, they could not marry any but members of the same waruge.

They lived by hunting, in which only the males took part. Their habitations were caves, and occasionally leaf shelters, but the latter was uncommon.

The females were kept in a state of rigid subjection to the males, and could not take part in the chase, ordinary ceremonials, or conversation with any but those who were immediate relations, or the closest relatives of the husband.

If the husband was pleased to *throw* some meat to his wife, as part of his spoil in the chase, that was all the woman was entitled to. She could not claim a share simply because she was the man's wife.

Under ordinary circumstances, both the males and females were naked, assuming only for special occasions a loin cloth

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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of the bark of the Ritti (*Antiaris toxicaria*) for males, and a sort of leaf-skirt for the females.

No jewellery was worn by the males or females. Sometimes a necklace made of shells ("Bellan") was worn by the younger females, but such things as rings were unknown to the earlier Veddas.

They had no idea of time beyond the subdivision of the 24 hours into two divisions, viz., that of light and darkness. Other than this there was no computation except a man's knowledge of a certain striking event that happened in his "small time," but how long ago that was could not be stated.

The taking of a woman to wife required mainly the sanction of the girl's father, after which a few exchanges might be made in signification of the consent of parties. After this the man and woman lived together, while before they would not so much as dare speak to one another in public, unless related.

The age of the woman was invariably extremely youthful at the time of her "marriage," and even at the present day, notwithstanding the comparative civilization of the modern Vedda descendants, youthful marriages still prevail.

I found in response to my inquiries in all parts of the Vedda country that I visited, that 12 years was a common age for a girl to be taken to wife at. In one village I was present at an inquiry by a headman into a case where the girl was only 8. In this case the headman expressed the opinion that the marriage was "very bad."

My informant told me that with the Veddas there was no custom for the woman, when about to give birth to a child, to go to a separate house or hut for the purpose, but that this custom had only come in later.

Among the Veddas there was no such thing as prostitution, nor could I learn that there was polyandry.

The bearing age of women would be at about 14, that of puberty being a year earlier.

Women would have children up to about 28, and as might be expected from the condition of youthful cohabitation for one or two years prior to puberty, the proportion of males and females in a family would be pretty nearly equal. On

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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Equally they were acquainted with tobacco and betel, for I was shown a place where the Veddas established a toll that was paid usually in these particular commodities.

The dog was the only domestic animal reared by the Vedda, and special names were given to these pets.

The Veddas appeared to have no knowledge of melting iron for the manufacture of their particular implements, which consisted of the bow and arrow, the spear, and the small axe, or hatchet. Arrow and spear-heads were procured by barter; the method of procedure was to clear a small space round the foot of a tree by the wayside leading to a village known to contain smiths. Here the Vedda would hang up to the branch of a tree a vessel containing honey, or a piece of meat, which would be taken by the smith, who in return would hang up an arrow-head.

It was understood by both that the quantity or number of articles required would be represented by the number of parcels of meat or honey. Should the smith, however, take the meat and not leave the arrow-heads that were thus silently requisitioned, he would pay the penalty with his life, or some of his animals would be shot by the defrauded Vedda.

The bow was usually made from the wood of the Dunumadala (*Stereospermum chelonioides*) and of the Bignoniaceæ. It was not always of the same length, as this appears to have depended on the springiness of the wood. The arrow was generally about 4 ft. long, or as much as a man could draw the bow to. The arrow-head appears to have been small, large arrow-heads being for ceremonial purposes only.

Fire was obtained by spinning, under moderate pressure, a vertical rod of Welanga wood (*Pterospermum suberifolium*) on a flat piece of wood of the same species, with the point of the former surrounded by floss, or some quickly inflammable material. Later, the flint and steel were found more effective. One example of a flint and steel was shown to me at Panawa, and I tried to purchase it at the owner's valuation, but I found he was most reluctant to sell. I understood that the flint and steel, a lock of hair, and a fragment of cloth represented a title deed, these being given by a dying man to his heir, or adopted heir, as a mode or evidence of transfer.

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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753 not be drunk. Again, in case of fever a decoction would be
757 given of a number of vegetable productions that were *believed* to be cooling. I may here mention that when questioned as to the exact effect any one of these ingredients would specifically bring about, I could get no clear answer. I found that
[278] both *Cassia auriculata* and *Evolvulus alsinoides* were regarded as most beneficial in fever, but I failed to find an answer as to their direct action. Equally *Mæsa ramentacea* would be considered as a most valuable medicine for fits, as well as fevers.

[755] Charms and incantations appear to be more important than medicines with the people.

I found that castor oil was appreciated and its action understood, but it is curious to note that it is supposed to be effective by outward application, as well as inward. Generally speaking, I found that the local knowledge of our plants was very wide, and it would be difficult to find a plant of any use that the people could not correctly name.

137 In some cases where a plant was rare, I found that no name
● 824 could be given to it; as, for instance, I obtained a few examples of *Centranthera procumbens*, but the people had no acquaintance with its name whatever. Nor did I find names invented in order to afford answers to my questions: it was a case of giving the right answer, or expressing ignorance.

273 I might mention incidentally, that though our familiar Kitul (*Caryota urens*) is well known, I found the people equally unacquainted with toddy or jaggery, except as *purchaseable* commodities, just as much as kerosine oil is. This ignorance of a source of alcohol may have much to do
674 with the striking absence of crime in the country I refer to, and I mention it in passing, as worthy of consideration. On the other hand, I would again point out that owing to the rigidity of certain customs there is not the same scope for jealousy over women that plays such an important factor in crimes of violence in other parts of this Island. Again, it
361 should not be lost sight of that in the Vedda country small
674 groups of people congregate round centres where water, however limited in quantity and impure in quality, is to be found, and are therefore much more mutually dependent

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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137 few solitary examples of *S. urens*, but I feel confident that this last is an introduction. *Pterospermum suberifolium*—the Welanga of the Sinhalese—is very abundant.

824 372 411 The young straight shoots of this plant supplied the Vedda arrow, while the wood was employed by them for the manufacture of "fire drills."

The distribution of *Helicteres isora* is curiously restricted to what might be turned "patches," the largest of which I found at Etmole. *Heritiera littoralis*—the Chomanturai of the Tamils—is scarce, but occurs near Panawa and Pottuvil.

Of the Tiliaceæ, I noticed that the distribution of Halmilla (*Berrya ammonilla*) was not very general, while its abundance or scarcity appeared to be a matter of its easy access or the reverse. This is to be expected of so valuable a timber tree.

"*Vidpani*" (Tamil) (*Pityranthe verrucosa*), so plentiful in the Trincomalee District, is comparatively scarce in the Vedda country. Of the Grewias, *G. tiliæfolia*, *G. microcos*, and *G. polygama* are the commonest, but the first of these is not so abundant here as in the dry zone of the Ratnapura District.

As representing the Linaceæ, *Erythroxylon monogynum* may be taken as an abundant typical example. It is alleged in the Panawa Pattu that meat hung in the smoke from burning wood of this plant, if eaten produces a purgative action.

Both *Hiptage madablota* and *H. parvifolia* of the Malpighiaceæ occur in the Vedda country, but in no abundance.

The bright, but pestiferous, *Tribulus terrestris*, is to be found near Pottuvil and at Panawa, in places where the soil is not too dry, but its distribution does not spread far inland.

Of the Geraniaceæ I found very few examples. In some slightly moist spots, west of "Westminster Abbey," I observed *Biophytum sensitivum*, and in some of the tanks I got *Hydrocera triflora*, but in other respects, except the introduced *Averrhoa bilimbi* and *A. carambola*—common in gardens—this order is poorly represented. The Rutaceæ is not well represented in *wild* species, if we except the well-known *Feronia elephantum*, *Murraya kœnigii*, and *Toddalia aculeata*. In the gardens oranges, lime, and pummalo have been introduced, but with no marked success either in the matter of quality or quantity

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137 It is almost superfluous to remark that the Rhamnaceæ are abundantly represented by various forms of *Zizyphus*, both as an abominable thorny climbing bush, or in the more elegant *Z. jujuba*. *Scutia indica* is plentiful near damp spots, while *Ventilago maderaspatana* is most abundant.

Vitis quadrangularis is, perhaps, the most common example of the Ampelideæ, while *Leea sambucina* is specially noticeable in the vicinity of large streams.

The Sapindaceæ afford plentiful examples in *Allophylus cobbe*, *Sapindus emarginatus*, or soap-nut, *Nephelium longana* (*Mora*, Sinhalese), *Schleichera trijuga* (*Kon*, Sinhalese), and *Glenia zeylanica*, all of which are about equally distributed.

[824 278] In waste ground the creeping *Cardiospermum halicacabum* is plentiful; its use as a tonic appears to have been known to the Veddas.

I also observed *Dodonæa viscosa* in a few isolated places, particularly near Wattegama, but to my surprise its use as an embrocation was apparently unknown.

Of the Anacardiaceæ, if we except cultivated species, few occur. The wild mango (*Mangifera zeylanica*) is to be found near or in the Heda-oya valley, but not in great profusion. *Odina wordier* is to some extent cultivated, as it is frequently to be found preserved where there are fields. *Nothopegia colebrookiana* is seemingly unknown to the people, though I found it frequently. *Spondias mangifera* I believe to have been introduced.

Passing to the Calycifloræ, the small order of Connaraceæ finds as its best representative the widely distributed *Connarus monocarpus*, that appears to thrive equally well in the wet [824] and dry zones. I found it in abundance in some of the driest situations. It is said to be of use for buffalo ropes.

Of the Leguminosæ, space considerations oblige me to make but the briefest reference to the better known examples in a list form :—

Crotalaria retusa. In open waste places.
C. striata. Occasional, in dry fields.
Indigofera pauciflora. In abandoned fields.
I. hirsuta. In waste places and road sides.
Æschynomene aspera. In damp places or puddles.

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137 *Sarcostemma brunonianum* occurs frequently, especially in the bush country.

Dregea volubilis is also fairly abundant near to Liyangolla and Muppane.

Of the Loganiaceæ, the well known *Strychnos nux-vomica* is most abundant. It is remarkable, in view of its being so common, that cases of children poisoning themselves by eating the seed are rarely heard of.

S. potatorum occurs, but is not abundant. I looked out for cases where the seeds were used for precipitating muddy water, but failed to find an instance of its use in this direction.

Of the Gentianaceæ, *Exacum zeylanicum* occurs in fields, but the flowers are much paler than in wet-country examples.

Of the Boragineæ, *Cordia myxa* is fairly common. *Tournefortia argentea* occurs on the seashore, but is not plentiful. *Heliotropium indicum* is very common in waste ground.

Of the Solanaceæ, mention need only be made of *Datura fastuosa*, which appears in nearly all the more established gardens. The various "Battus" I can pass over, as being common all over the Ceylon low-country, and as probably introduced.

Of the Scrophulariaceæ I desire to draw attention to only one, *Centranthera procumbens*, owing to its presence in a dry country being remarkable. I found it on two occasions only, first between Nangalla and Danakiriya, and the second time about five miles south of Liyangolla. On both these occasions I asked the villagers if they could name it, but without success. Its presence is singular, as it is generally to be found only in the wet zone, or in a country where extremes of drought are not experienced.

Of the Bignoniaceæ, *Oroxylum indicum* is moderately common, but I think there is little doubt that it was introduced for the sake of its medicinal value. *Dolichandrone rheedii* occurs near the coast, near standing water. *Stereospermum chelonioides* is fairly common. Its wood was used by the Veddas for bows.

[411 224]

Of the Pedaliaceæ, *Pedalium murex* is common near the coast, and is used by both the Sinhalese and Tamils for a demulcent. *Martynia diandra* occurs on the fringes of villages

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137 *Aleurites triloba* is to be found in a few village gardens towards the west, but is nowhere cultivated in much quantity. It is an introduction.

Dimorphocalyx glabellus. Exceedingly common, except near the sea shore.

Mallotus albus. Tolerably plentiful, especially in the west.

Macaranga tomentosa. Occasional. There is reason to suppose this has been to some extent introduced merely for the sake of the large peltate leaves, that afford a useful substitute for plates. By tracing a group of these trees I was able to find one of the most important of the caves on the east flank of "Westminster Abbey."

Chætocarpus castanocarpus. Occasional.

Sapium insigne. Common, especially near rocks.

Holopelea integrifolia, representing the Urticaceæ, is very common up to within a short distance of the coast. It occurs right up the Kumbukkan valley to the foot of the Uva hills, after which it becomes scarce.

Trema orientalis I found to be locally plentiful, but more so towards the hills.

Streblus asper. Very common, and with much variation in the size of the leaf.

Ficus benghalensis (the Banyan of Europeans) is very abundant right down to the coast. It appears in all the old established villages, which leads one to the idea that it was introduced. I have, however, found it in localities where it may have been introduced by birds transporting the seed from the (?) cultivated trees, as the fruits are readily devoured by Barbets and Pigeons.

F. retusa. Very common.

F. arnottiana. Occasional, especially in rocky places.

F. tsjakela. Occasional, and appears to be singularly partial to old ruins.

F. hispida. Not uncommon near rivers and in damp forests.

F. religiosa. Common near any temple. At Kumuna I found some enormous examples, as also at Wattegama.

[824 292] *Antiaris toxicaria*. Rare. I am informed, as stated early in this Paper, that the Veddas use it for making "loin cloths" to be worn on ceremonial occasions.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

136 The grass in the glades was so tall that it covered us entirely. One's only chance of encountering game lay at the forest margins, or in the infrequent patches of burnt ground, overspread with the tender spicous shoots of which the chital are fond. Parrots and doves broke the stillness of the evening with their crooning. Startled quails whirred from our feet crying vociferous caution to their crouching young, and sometimes we would flush a *pathan kukula*, a species of partridge. But the note that accorded most with the brooding genius of the place, was the mournful, incessant 'ho-ho, ho-ho' of the *botua-kapan*, a cuckoo which, try as we might, we failed to see.

361 The next morning, provided with a small langur we shot on the way,
231 we visited the Henebedde Veddas in their homes. Handuna's hut stood at the foot of a densely wooded hill. There were a few cattle about which the Veddas tended for a consideration from the Sinhalese; and, what was even more unexpected, we found here a couple of hens with excellent broods; for, even the Sinhalese of these parts, as we learnt to our cost, kept no fowls. In these pursuits lie the nuclei that bid fair to tie nomadic hunters to fixed abodes.

342 Handuna's hut was a long low structure of wattle and bast thatched with straw, and partitioned into three or four dark rooms, occupied by
[281 his family and those of his sons-in-law. At one end of the building was an
362] open living-room in which we were entertained with deer skins for seats. Slung from the eaves, at the other end of the hut, was a gourd, the mouth
231 of which was plugged with wax pierced with two small holes, through which bees busily entered and emerged. As I focussed my camera on this interesting example of Vedda apiculture, the enterprising showman naively remarked that a gentleman had once given him a rupee for that picture; but he might have spared the hint for the good it brought him.

343 Standing a little apart from the main hut, was a squat, kennel-like
[84] structure for the segregation of women, during their monthly indis-
[171] position. This feature is universal among jungle folk, whether Vedda, half-Vedda, Sinhalese, or Tamil. These sheds, barely sufficient for an individual to sit or lie crouched in, are often overgrown by jungle, and only crudely protected with bark-slats or deer skins; they have a fire-place at the open entrance; sometimes they are more hygienically built over trestles. Considering the poor protection they afford, and their nearness to the forest around, it must require some fortitude on the part of those occupying them, especially at night.

252 We now saw the monkey we had brought prepared for food. A slow fire was kindled in the garden; on this the carcase was placed, and turned over until well singed, emitting a most appetising odour. The smooth stone on which Handuna had up to now been seated, and which did service as seat or platter as occasion demanded, was requisitioned; the half-roasted animal was placed on it, disemboweled, and quartered with the blade of an arrow. A dog, that had been awaiting the opportunity, feasted on the offal in full view. The head was severed and split in half,
[824 the limbs, dismembered, and the trunk broken flat. The various frag-
264] ments were then put back to roast. When all was ready, dainty morsels were served out to us on broad *kenda** leaves (the usual plates of these
262 people), with the polite request that we must eat first. A fragment of liver done to a turn, and a dainty hand with the charred little fingers

*Macaranga tomentosa.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

When Kauwa was young his people wore threshed *riti** bark suspended from the waist by a *riti* strip. A Vedda belle would sometimes trick herself out in such adornments as a *riti* collar sewn at the back with *naga*† fibre, anklets of red ixora blooms, lotus petals in ear lobes and as garlands round neck and loins, and circlets of strung wild jasmine round the hair knot. Difficult, though it be, to reconcile this picture with the wretched specimens one meets to-day, it must be admitted that Kauwa had no imagination to run loose. An old song tells of Vedda maidens whose heads were adorned with peacock plumes.

Vedda man and wife usually walk the forest together, and accouchements often occur away from home and female assistance; the man then does duty for midwife by placing the woman with her back to a rock and two stones to her feet. For nine days after child-birth he feeds her only on *gonala* yams and the flesh of monitors.

* *Antiaris toxicaria.*
† *Ficus altissima*

5: Spinel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1946 AX5 Vedda AX5

4. FRIAR'S HOOD AND THE VEDDAS OF GALMEDE

ACCOMPANIED by Kauwa and a Tamil, we left Divulana to enter upon the wildest part of our journey. The *illuk* glades, so familiar to us for many days, now gave place to jungle sunless, forsaken, virginal and silent save for the cry of a cicala or the rustle of a jungle cock or chevrotan.

Crossing the Amankelle Oya we came to the deserted home of the Bandaradua Veddas—Kauwa's old home. It outlay a glade in full view of the Bandaradua rock. All that now marked the place were a cadju tree, that spread its branches in a great canopy, and a few live fence sticks all overgrown with *pussela-wel*, the pounded bark of which the Veddas soak in water rendering it soapy for cleansing their lousy heads.

Late in the evening we were at the foot of Friar's Hood, that loneliest of Ceylon's forest hills, the landmark of the old Portuguese mariners. The environing jungle was sinister with the menace of unseen things. Here our guide had once encountered a gang of no less than six bears, and indicated to us the very trees up which he and his companion had shinned. It was not the sort of place one would care to be in alone; and yet, in a clearing by the rock, a Moor had recently lived with his wife for three years, growing amidst his cassava a deadlier plant,* the joy and bane of Eastern lands.

We camped on this deserted plantation. As it darkened a sambur belled and stamped around us in high dudgeon that his accustomed pasturage had been usurped. The hooded peak before us melted into the gloom, only to stand out again under the stars more sinister and secret than ever. This lonely outlaw, standing away from the herded hills, had survived a race of men. It was there when the first paleolithic ancestors of the Veddas crossed from India, when Ceylon and that land were one. Towards it, and the security it afforded, was the best remnant of that race gradually driven by succeeding waves of civilisation through the long years. To-day around it the last of the Veddas are dying. And yet,

> The hills are shadows and they flow
> From form to form, and nothing stands;
> They melt like mists, the solid lands,
> Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

It is difficult to say where Galmede really begins. We must ascribe to it all that tract of deserted *chenas*, with their crumbling Vedda shelters and *mora* forests devastated by elephants, between Friar's Hood and the Magalawatavan Oya, on the other bank of which stand the few huts that comprise the Galmede of to-day. This place, the port of our dreams, we entered with beating hearts.

The first individual to meet us was no Vedda at all but a Chetty!

"Where are the Veddas?" I asked eagerly.

"There are no Veddas here," he said.

*Cannabis indica.

S: Spittal D-8 (ca. 1928) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

582 The correct Vedda marriage is that between the children of a brother
635 and sister. A marriage between children of two brothers or of two sisters is regarded as incest. And here their standard is higher than ours.

587 Marriage for the Vedda is a very simple affair. Suthubanda, for instance, espoused a widow in his household. When she was freed by the death of her husband, it was right that he should take her, and he made no demur, though she was old and ugly and he young and robust.
583 Kaurala went to the younger of his two wives with a length of cloth, a bead necklace, a bangle and two hair pins, and brought her away. Gama, whose wife was an orphan of Henebedde, did much the same. But
911 the rule is that a man should cast in his lot with his wife's people. Then, the morning after marriage the pair go into the jungle and bring home, it may be a *kaauva* comb, a monitor lizard, or some yams, and thus the common life begins.

585 The waist-string plays as important a part in Vedda matrimony as
291 does the ring in ours. When a woman has tied round the waist of a man a string of her own twisting, he becomes her husband. This string, some
[283 six encircling loops, lasting practically a life-time, is made of *niyanda*
●284 (bow-string hemp), the long bayonet-shaped leaf of which is shredded to fibre by being drawn repeatedly between the palm of the hand and a bare branch.

586 Divorce is as informal as marriage; the woman being merely returned to her parents or requested to go to whomsoever she chooses. But the Vedda is not, as a rule, unreasonably capricious in the exercise of his power; he has too great a sense of responsibility and of fair-play towards
762 the mother of his children and partner in his toil. A lad I knew blew out his chest with a gun, from remorse at having taken to himself two sisters who continually quarrelled with each other over his affections.

593 A Vedda will not hesitate to chastise his spouse when necessary; but that, after all, is only a mark of affection! We saw one belabour his wife unmercifully because she would not let him accompany us; she took all the beating she got, but had her own way in the end.

551 These people do not address their women-folk by name. Ask a man to
515 name his children, and he will stutter and stumble at the task. A Vedda hails his wife somewhat as follows: "What are you doing there? Come here and break my head." This apparently suicidal request is only his way of requesting her to perform the delightful uxorial duty of cleansing his hair of vermin.

614 The Veddas of Bingoda claim to be of the Morana *warige*, the best
565 Vedda clan. Those of Danigala, of the Unapane clan, come next. But
515 for the Veddas of Henebedde the Bingoda folk profess disdain, calling them *Uro* (swine) and *Waliya*, and saying it was their duty in old-time to pour water on the Morana's hands when they had fed. How much water these Moranas themselves use we have yet to learn; for, if the saying be true, that the worse the odour the better the Vedda, then the Veddas of Bingoda are aristocrats. What a thing is human nature after all, when even this wretched little remnant of humanity, without a rag to their bodies claim social precedence over each other?

614 There are nine Vedda clans or *warige*; and each has its own story:
173 The Morana *warige* was so called by a Sinhalese king who yearned for the *mora* fruit when it was out of season, and bid his want proclaimed.

8: Spimal D-8 (ca. 1938) 1948 AX8 Vedda AX8

sticks are easily obtainable from broken branches scattered everywhere. Gama, who was entrusted with the demonstration, chose two twigs, one the thickness of the index finger and about a foot and a half long, the other as thick as the little finger and about ten inches long. Having barked these, he whittled down the centre of the larger stick, and, in the flat surface thus produced, scooped out a shallow cavity, at one border of which he contrived a V-shaped extension. A piece of cloth about two inches square was placed on the ground under the centre of the stick which was held firmly down, cavity uppermost, by the toes of the operator, aided by the hands of an assistant. The smaller stick was then placed vertically over the other—its point, rendered bluntly conical, engaging in the cavity—and briskly rotated between the open palms. The firm downward pressure with which these movements were accompanied, caused the palms to descend the length of the stick from time to time. As often as this happened, the hands were quickly disengaged and re-applied as before to the upper part, and the twirling manoeuvre repeated. This had been done but twice when smoke was seen. Soon a small heap of charred dust like coffee-grounds accumulated round the hole, to escape down the V-shaped gutter on to the cloth. The smoke increased; there was a smell of charred wood. Suddenly a spark was thrown on to the black dust and the rag caught fire. A few dry leaves were collected and set alight. Within two minutes of the commencement of the operation there was a lively fire. When the smoke is observed to come from the accumulated dust, apart from that at the point of contact between the two sticks, it is a sign that the object is achieved. The rag is then rolled to enclose the dust—cigarette-fashion—and blown into at one end, so that it soon smokes heavily and catches fire.

It is strange that an art so simple in adept hands (not by any means so in those of a novice) should have been allowed to fall into disuse in wild Ceylon. I have seen refinements of this method; a coconut-shell, flat stone, or skull of a small animal for instance, being used by an assistant to press down the vertical stick, and a twist of bark to rotate it but they were less effectual than the simple procedure I have described.

ARCHERY

The present day Veddas, we have seen, are poor bowmen; they have, however, not yet quite lost the art of fashioning superb bows and arrows.

The bow is made from the *mahahalala-gaha* or the *halawela*; the string from the inner sheath of the bark of *aralu-wel*.*

The size of the bow is proportioned to the archer's strength. I have seen one six and a half feet long and as thick as a child's wrist; and, judging from its drawing power, no hand but a giant's could have wielded it. The usual length of a bow is from five and a half feet to five feet ten inches. It is made of a single stave, thick at the centre, without contrivance to give grip, flattened along the back, and tapering towards the horns which, without being notched, are tightly encircled by a few turns of cord to prevent the string slipping.

The arrow is made from the *es* or *welangi*† tree, the wood of which when dry is of remarkable lightness. A straight twig the girth of the finger

*Terminalia chebula.

†Pterospermum subericifolium.

5: Spinal D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

322 411 is taken, barked, and straightened by being passed rapidly a few times through a flame, and then bent over the knee or between the hands. It is shaved down to uniform thickness with an arecanut-cutter or arrow blade, and cut to suitable length, roughly gauged by holding it along the outstretched arm from the nearer nipple to the end of the middle finger, giving it an average measure of two and a half feet, or slightly less. An arrow belonging to the great bow I have mentioned, measured three and a half feet. The nock or notch is a quarter of an inch deep and cut square.

411 237 284 The arrow is feathered with the wing plumes of the owl, devil-bird, jungle-cock, or large crane (*mana kaha*); the owl's, besides being the best, are easily picked up along dry stream beds, on the trees bordering which the birds usually roost. A feather is split unequally down the rachis, only the larger segment being used. Four such segments, about two inches long, are arranged equidistantly round the shaft, an inch and a quarter from the end, and bound neatly down with *aralu* fire, the mouth helping in the process. The first turns are merely taken round that part of the shaft, which is immediately below the feathers, then round the bared lower ends of the rachis, and then carried along, at spaced intervals, between the carefully separated barbs. Should a strand not prove long enough, it is finished off by having its end tucked in between rachis and shaft, and another is similarly begun. Finally the ruffled barbs are straightened out between the thumb and fingers moistened with saliva. A few turns of fibre just below the notch serve to give grip to the drawing fingers.

411 The arrow-head is made of flattened iron obtained from local blacksmiths. It is three to five inches long, of lanceolate shape in imitation of the *na* leaf, and sharp at the edges; serving as much as a cutting implement as an arrow. By a tang it is let into the end of the shaft to which it is firmly secured with fibre. All the strung parts of the arrow, [824] as well as the bow-string, are finally dressed with the sticky milk of *kiri-wel* to prevent untwisting. Both bow and arrow, being very liable to the ravages of boring insects, are always kept hung over the smoke when not in use.

The method of stringing the bow is by placing one end of it, to which the string is knotted, on the ground, and then pressing on its centre either with the bent knee or by a foot thrust. A correctly strung bow should measure at its centre a span between string and belly of bow; this is rather more than the "fist-mele" (clenched fist with thumb upright) the rough estimate of European stringing.

The arrow release favoured by the Veddas is that in which the cord is drawn with the first joints of the index and middle fingers, the arrow being usually placed on the left of the bow. The style of archery is often peculiar: the arrow fitted to the bow is raised head high; the right elbow is now swung up in an awkward flourish above the head, and then brought slowly down to alignment with the eye, as the string is drawn out to its fullest extent and the arrow delivered.

DANCING

177 536 The ceremonial dances of the Veddas have been minutely described and illustrated by Seligmann. The dance we are about to describe seems to have been performed before him in its greatest purity at Henebedde. The differences between his description and ours must be

224 descend; while two or three others, with perhaps a dog, beat the jungle above and start the animal, which is shot almost at the point of the guns.

267 There is no flesh the Vedda loves more than that of the wanderoo
224 (grey langur). He will sometimes be seen to halt by a tree, and strike its trunk three resounding blows with his axe-head. This is to discover the whereabouts of the wanderoo. On hearing the sound, these animals, imagining it to be that of a falling tree or rock, give vent to the "a-he-hik" so characteristic of them when startled.

252 One afternoon Suthu Banda brought in a great langur slung on his
[482] shoulder, with its tail rove through its slit cheek. Within twenty-five minutes not a morsel of the animal remained. Disjointing the tail at the root, he dissected up a strip of dorsal skin in continuation of it as far as the neck; twisting this over a branch, he suspended and rapidly skinned the quarry. The meat was cut up in pieces and placed on large logs over a fire, the flames licking them all round. Bony segments, such as the spine, ribs and limbs, were pounded on a stone when half burnt, and then replaced on embers. The stomach and entrails were slit open and their contents merely scooped away with the fingers, and roasted. No water whatever was used! It was a truly sickening sight to see the relish with which the intestines with adherent faecal matter
262 were greedily eaten. When we remarked on the repulsiveness of it, the gluttonous epicure calmly remarked, "Yes, the filth gets eaten right enough. What of it? It is good medicine. If you get a wanderoo what haven't you got? No marriage is like it." How true is the saying that the pig and the Vedda are one!

226 Fish* abound in the forest streams, all bony and very indifferent
824 to the taste. The Veddas catch these, not with rods or nets, but with poisons. The fruit, bark or root of certain trees† is smashed up and thrown into pools or banked waterways. The water is then stirred; as it gets stained the fish become restless, and leap on to the bank, or
[251] turn belly upwards stupefied. They are collected and boiled with a
252] little salt and a few chillies and eaten at once, or dried over a trestle like meat.

222 Let us see what sort of fare the jungle trees provide. Of fruit there is plenty in season:—*Mora*, *kong*, *galseembela*, *veera*, *palu*, *damba*, jak, guavas, *ulkantha*, *hibutoo*, *bulanga*, *kothalanga*, *leyaneya*, *karambe*, *madu* never eaten raw because it causes giddiness and vomiting!). The cabbages of palms such as *inthibada* and *kitulalla*. Yams:—*Gonala*, *hatuala*, *hirathala*, *alalla*, in order of preference. Then there are the
[261] various barks they chew incessantly to stay the hunger of their long fasts:—*Demata*, *bolvilla* and *thambola*, all substitutes for betel; and *davata* for arecanut; and besides these the barks of *opulu*, *galseembela*, *mora*, *kabatha*, *nuga*, *kalawa*, *galkara*, and in fact anything, however, insipid, provided it is not poisonous.

757 Their medicines are few. There is *gonkuttudalu* which they crush up
752 with water and apply to the head for headaches; *meelalla-pothu* which they smash up with *chunam* and use as a dressing for wounds; but for abrasions of the foot they will as soon rub in a little sand with

* *Walapotho*, *anguluo*, *lulo*, *katukanao*, *kanupatho*, *antho* (eels), *maguro*, *kungo*, *kekeliyo*, *pethy*, *walihondo*, *sethalu*, *badapathalo*, *walihairiyo*, *piniweliyo*, *kovalayo*, *galpanduruo*.

† *Kukurumang-geddi*, *kala-mul*, *thimbiri-gedde*, *dhamba-pothu*, *pussal-mul*.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

the other heel. Python fat is used for fractures. *Nagamaru-alla* has a great reputation as an aphrodisiac, less among the Veddas than among the Moors and Tamils. *Bing kohomba* (*munronia pumila*) gathered in the hills, and *hansa* (*cannabis indica*) grown surreptitiously, are always barterable. Besides the lesser poisons used for stupefying fish, there are the deadly *weragalla-alla* (*gloriosa superba*); *mansa-kolle* (*laportea crenulata*); *thes-hadurugedde* (*cerbera odallam*) and *hirinthea*.

There can be little doubt that much of the *cannabis indica* obtainable in Ceylon is grown in the forests by the encouragement of Moors. Traffic in the drug being illegal, the plant is cultivated clandestinely in sequestered jungle clearings or scattered amidst the vegetation of *chenas*. Though the plants fetch a good price, they are hardly worth the trouble and risk involved in tending them; and they say that "money got from *hansa* never stays in the hand." Not only have the plants to be watered for at least three months, but, very often, just as the crop is ready for harvesting, a thief helps himself to it. The commodity is conveyed to the lonely coast or the high road in the dead of night, along unfrequented game trails, in bags containing nests, grain, or dried meat.

A poignant story concerns the discovery of the *nagamaru-alla*, that esteemed aphrodisiac so difficult to find. A Vedda boy and his sister were travelling alone in the forest, when a shower of rain drove them to seek shelter under a tree. As is usual with Veddas when they rest, the boy stuck his arrows into the ground. Then, taking out of his pouch of monkey skin a chew of *demata* bark, he shared it with his sister; and, plucking out an arrow from the ground, placed on its point a little lime and gave it to her. She had scarcely tasted this when she began to manifest unsisterly familiarity. Her brother, incensed and shamed, drew his bow and killed her on the spot. Overcome by sorrow at what he had done, he debated in his mind as to why his sister, so good before, should suddenly have behaved so shamelessly. It occurred to him that the explanation might lie in the spot the arrow had been implanted; digging there he found a yam his arrow had transfixed. Thus was its named derived *nagamaru-alla* or yam that killed a sister; the Tamils call it *thangai kolai* which means the same thing. The marks of the tragedy are said to be evident to this day in the red spots that fleck the flower and leaf. I have seen the plant, a ground orchid, twice, but only the white-flowered variety not the reputedly more potent mottled. The slender stalk, bearing a delicate flower about half the size of a lupin, grows out of two downy ovoid yams.

The proper home of the Vedda is the *galge* or cave; and in these until recent years, the wilder of them exclusively lived. Now they only serve as occasional haunts, and therefore often have other occupants besides Veddas, chiefly bears; for this reason no Vedda approaches an unoccupied cave without warning: "*Cho-ho-ho, cho-ho-ho,*" he shouts. "*Kiribala, haria, haria, cho-ho-ho, cho-ho-ho.*" A snarl and a rush often greet the words. These rock-shelters are invariably hidden away among trees and boulders, and are extremely difficult to find except by those who know them.

Many of the caves are spacious, open and inviting; others dark and forbidding. Some source of water, such as a stream or spring, is usually at hand. The sloping roofs of the caves often present such crude picture galleries as we saw at Henanagalla, also wasps' nests, and the clustering